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• 863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [754] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sok*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sok* may be related to the verb *soka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.[4] Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

[4] Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

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862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[3]

• 863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[4] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[5] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house. She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

[264] [3] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.

[364] [4] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material (food leavings) from it without being observed.

[754] [5] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

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861 other tasks if he wishes, and is definitely debarred from still
868 others. Although this work is directed toward the satisfaction
857 of hunger, the children cannot always appreciate this and must be coerced. A Kwoma does not take full responsibility for many of the tasks until adolescence; then he learns by experience that no work means no food. The coercion, as we have seen, consists in scolding or beating the child for not doing the tasks expected of him, and in warning him of the dire consequences which follow an undesired act.

• 863 Cleanliness habits are usually already established by the time a boy or girl reaches childhood. Informants stated that if a slip occurs it is the child's own business except that he is forced to clean up after himself. The following example indicates how sanctions actually operated in a case of enuresis. One night, when the mosquitoes were very bad, Buka, a girl about eight years old, slept with her mother, older sister, and younger brother in the screened room in my house. The next morning I found a puddle on the floor. Soon after breakfast the two young girls came in shamefacedly and offered to clean up. They lied to me, saying that Kum had wet the floor and that they were going to punish him for it. While they were carrying out the rug, their *paternal uncle* came in, scolded Buka, and beat her. She cried and ran home. The uncle then told me that it was Buka's own business if she wet the bed as long as she cleaned up after herself. He said that he would not have scolded her if she had done it at home, but wetting my floor was an insult to me which must be punished. Several of the onlookers referred to the act as that of an infant and said that she was old enough to know better.

864 Sexual conditioning begins in earnest during childhood. A boy is punished for looking at the genitals of any female. He is scolded and even beaten if he does this, the person at whom he looks usually being the one who does the punishing. Informants stated that learning takes place primarily with respect to the mother and sisters because they are the females with whom the boy comes most frequently in contact. When a woman scolds a boy for staring at her, she tells him that he should not look at her genitals because they are her private

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permit him to discover the reward by free trial and error.
There are three techniques of guidance: leading, instructing, and demonstrating.

The most primitive technique by which a teacher can make his pupil perform the correct response is by leading. To do this the teacher physically limits the random responses of the pupil so that he makes the right response more quickly, or so that he is prevented from making wrong responses. Such guidance is used by the Kwoma primarily when the pupil has not yet learned to talk and therefore cannot follow instructions. The following case illustrates the use of leading. Njan, while lying in his mother's lap one afternoon, began to cry and struggle. His mother lifted him up to her breast, and, holding his head with one hand, directed her nipple into his mouth with the other. Njan began to nurse. Had his mother not directed his head, he would probably eventually have found her nipple as the result of random movements and satisfied his hunger. The mother, by holding his head, prevented him from making errors and thus forced him to make the right response more quickly. Informants stated that mothers taught their children to defecate in the latrine by leading them there and holding them in the proper position. These are the only situations observed in which Kwoma teachers employ the technique of leading, though there may well be others.

Verbal guidance or instruction is probably the most widely used of all teaching techniques. As indicated in the preceding analysis of punishment, scolding, threats, warnings, and inciting, instructions normally form a part of these techniques. In other words, teachers usually motivate and guide at the same time. On rare occasions, however, when the pupil is already motivated by some other agency, a teacher need simply help the pupil to make the right response, or not to make the wrong response, by instructing him.

The following case illustrates the use of instructions as a teaching technique. Fit was trying to light the fire in my cook house one afternoon. A strong wind was blowing, and the matches kept going out. Mar, who was watching him,

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [378] [136] [516] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house temberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afok and Pokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwe and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mas is now our shoot boy, as Mamb has quit. Yesterday Mas killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mas realised that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Ouiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mas was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Mamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Pokotay, Dew, Yaminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbim calling with a new gong--do you hear me?" and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a ngasa from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's ngasa. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Sombundura. Fokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafa; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Owiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Owanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Owanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa="nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Owiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Owanta. She did not come last night. War, Way and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Sowinambi's. His wife is still sick.

• 863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent Way in search for him. Chimowa and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Owiyap and Way searched in vain but came back after a short while.